

Message Text

SECRET

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17

ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 L-01 PRS-01 SP-02 H-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 IO-03 IGA-01

OMB-01 EB-03 /047 W

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R 270505Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8356

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 6330

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ID XC

SUBJECT: HABIB MEETING WITH SUHARTO

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB MAY 26, PRESIDENT SUHARTO SAID FALL OF INDOCHINA NOT UNEXPECTED IN INDONESIA BECAUSE INDONESIANS HAD HAD EXPERIENCE WITH COMMUNISTS AND HAD FOR LONG BELIEVED U.S. ASSISTANCE TO INDOCHINA NOT ACHIEVING OBJECTIVES. SITUATION AGGRAVATED BY DISUNITY WITHIN FORMER SOUTH VIETNAMESE LEADERSHIP. HE STRESSED INDONESIA, IN CONTRAST, EMPHASIZING NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF PANCASILA AND INTERNAL RESILIENCE. IN HIS VIEW, U.S. NEGLECTING INDONESIA; RECENT IGGI MEETING IMPLIED CHANGES IN US POLICY AT VERY TIME WHEN INDONESIA ACCELERATING DEVELOPMENT. RE FUTURE, HE SAID HANOI CAN WORK TO IMPOSE DOCTRINE FOR BENEFIT PEOPLE OF VIETNAM OR CAN SEEK "COMMUNIZE THE WORLD." U.S. CAN PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN FOSTERING STRENGTH AND COOPERATION OF ASEAN

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COUNTRIES. HABIB IN REPLY STRESSED U.S. SUPPORT FOR

INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND INTENTION TO LIVE UP TO RESPONSIBILITIES. U.S. WILL SUSTAIN TREATY COMMITMENTS AND INFORMAL RELATIONSHIPS, AND WILL MAINTAIN FORWARD MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS INCLUDING SEVENTH FLEET ALTHOUGH LONG PLANNED REDUCTIONS IN TAIWAN AND THAILAND WILL PROCEED. RE HANOI, HAD ADVISED SUHARTO BE PREPARED FOR

WORST WHILE ALLOWING FOR BEST. IN RESPONSE TO DIRECT QUESTION RE HIS VIEW ON U.S. DEPLOYMENTS, SUHARTO SAID HE WAS "ENCOURAGED", FELT IT IMPORTANT U.S. DO EVEN MORE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HOUR AND QUARTER MEETING, PRESIDENT SUHARTO OUTLINED TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB MAY 26 HIS VIEWS ON POST INDOCHINA SITUATION. MINISTER OF STATE SUHARMONO, AMBASSADOR NEWSOM AND INTERPRETER WIDODO PRESENT.

3. HABIB BOUGHT GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY, SAID BOTH LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING SUHARTO IN JULY, AND INTERESTED HIS PRELIMINARY VIEWS ON SITUATION FOLLOWING EVENTS IN INDOCHINA.

4. PRESIDENT SUHARTO SAID, FROM INDONESIA'S OWN EXPERIENCE WITH COMMUNISTS IN INDONESIA AND OWN ASSESSMENT OF U.S. ASSISTANCE IN INDOCHINA, INDONESIA NOT SURPRISED. STRENGTH OF COMMUNISM IS IN IDEOLOGICAL BASE AND "PHILOSOPHICAL FANATACISM". IT CANNOT BE OPPOSED BY PHYSICAL STRENGTH ALONE. BECAUSE OF STATE PHILOSOPHY OF PANCASILA (FIVE PRINCIPLES), INDONESIA WAS ABLE TO MOBILIZE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNIST DOCTRINE AND SUCCESSFULLY DEFEATED PKI. WHEN U.S. WITHDREW TROOPS FROM INDOCHINA, U.S. BOASTED THAT STRENGTH OF SVN ARMY COULD WITHSTAND FORCES OF NORTH. TECHNOLOGICALLY SPEAKING THIS WAS TRUE, BUT BECAUSE FACTOR OF HUMAN SPIRIT WAS LACKING, U.S. ASSISTANCE COULD NOT ACHIEVE GOAL. SVN AND CAMBODIAN LEADERSHIP FULL OF INTERNAL STRIFE. IF LEADERS NOT UNITED, HOW CAN PEOPLE BE? REFUGEES FLED COMMUNISTS BUT ADDED ADDITIONAL BURDEN TO WEAK AND DIVIDED GOVERNMENTS.

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5. IN POST INDOCHINA PERIOD, INTROSPECTION IMPORTANT FOR ALL NATIONS IN AREA SO THAT WHAT OUTSIDERS, INCLUDING U.S., DO TO HELP WILL ACHIEVE GOAL. OUTSIDE HELP SHOULD BE LIMITED TO STRENGTHENING INTERNAL IDEOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT, TO RAISING LIVING STANDARDS AND NATIONAL INCOME. THEN WHEN TESTING TIME COMES, NATION WILL BE READY.

6. U.S. ASSISTANCE IN INDOCHINA APPEARED COME ONLY AT

LAST MINUTE WHEN SITUATION ALREADY CRITICAL. STRENGTHEN-
ING PROCESS SHOULD BEGIN AT EARLY STAGE SO PEOPLE ARE
PREPARED MEET IDEOLOGY AS WELL AS PHYSICAL FORCE OF
COMMUNISTS. DESPITE INDOCHINESE EVENTS, INDONESIA
CONTINUING TO CARRY OUT NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. U.S.
HOWEVER, APPEARS BE NEGLECTING INDONESIA. LATEST IGGI
MEETNG APPEARED REPRESENT CHANGE IN POLICY AT VERY
MOMENT WHEN INDONESIAN ACCELERATING ITS DEVELOPMENT FOR
JUST AND PROSPEROUS SOCIETY. INDONESIA SEEMS TO HAVE
GIVEN SOME IMPRESSION IT NO LONGER NEEDS AID WHEN AID
PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO BUILDING MORAL STRENGTH OF
SOCIETY.

7 LOOKING TO FUTURE, PRESIDENT SUHARTO SAID INDOCHINESE
COMMUNIST REGIME WILL OBVIOUSLY HAVE INFLUENCE ON
NEIGHBORS AND WILL SEEK EXPAND INFLUENCE. THIS COULD
COME EITHER BY IMPOSITION DOCTRINE WITHIN BORDERS WITH
INFLUENCE BY EXAMPLE OR THROUGH "COMMUNIZING THE WORLD."
IF IT CONCENTRATES ON BUILDING SOCIETY, THIS WILL STILL
ENCOURAGE "BROTHERS" IN OTHER COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN
LABOR FORCE, INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES, AND AMONG FARMERS.
WHEN THESE GROUPS FEEL TIME IS RIPE, THEY WILL LOOK FORWARD
TO ASSISTANCE FROM HANOI "WITH ARMS CAPTURED FROM YOU."
SECOND ALTERNATIVE OF DIRECT INSTIGATION OF
SUBVERSION IS WORSE.

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 INR-05 L-01 PRS-01 SP-02 H-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 IO-03 IGA-01

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R 270505Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

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INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

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SECRET SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 6330

LIMDIS

8. SUHARTO SAID INDONESIA IS READY TO FACE CHALLENGE THROUGH STRENGTHENING NATIONAL RESILIENCE AND CLEARLY COOPERATING WITH OTHER SEA COUNTRIES. U.S. CAN PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE CONSOLIDATING AND FORTIFYING INDONESIAN STRENGTH OF MAJORITY THROUGH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN TO ELIMINATE POVERTY. PLAN IS UNDESIRABLE IF IT ONLY CULTIVATES SOME PRIVILEGED GROUPS. IF GOVERNMENT UNABLE TO RAISE LIVING STANDARD AND UNABLE TO UNIFY COUNTRY, DIFFICULT TO MOBILIZE SOCIETY. PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT THIS WAS HIS PERSONAL ASSESSMENT "IN BRIEF", SHARED BY OTHER INDONESIANS.

9. HABIB REPLIED THAT U.S. REALIZED IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY; NO QUESTION THAT WITHOUT UNIFYING SPIRIT NATION WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RESIST COMMUNISTS. ELEMENT OF LEADERSHIP EQUALLY IMPORTANT. U.S. EXPERIENCE FURTHER BEARS OUT IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT TO NATIONAL SPIRIT. AS FAR AS U.S. CONCERNED, WE WISH
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SUSTAIN SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN THIS PART OF WORLD. U.S. HAS NO INTENTION EXERCISING AUTHORITY OVER OTHERS, BUT EVERY INTENTION OF LIVING UP TO RESPONSIBILITIES. U.S. POLICY HAS SUFFERED MAJOR SETBACK IN INDOCHINA, BUT NOW, FOR FIRST TIME IN SOME YEARS, ONE CAN GET ATTENTION FOR ASIAN PROBLEMS IN WAY THAT FITS WITH OVERALL NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

10 HABIB SAID U.S. GOING THROUGH SELF-EXAMINATION, BUT ADMINISTRATION'S PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS, WITH SUPPORT OF MAJORITY IN CONGRESS, WERE: (A) THERE WOULD BE NO WITHDRAWING FROM ASIAN TREATY COMMITMENTS; (B) INFORMAL RELATIONSHIPS OF ASSOCIATION AND MUTUAL RESPECT WITH NATIONS IN AREA WOULD BE SUSTAINED; (C) FORWARD DEPLOYMENT TO BE MAINTAINED; THERE ARE NO PLANS FOR ANY ALTERATION IN KOREA, JAPAN, PHILIPPINES OR GUAM; (D) SEVENTH FLEET WOULD REMAIN; (E) PAST PLANS FOR REDUCTION IN TAIWAN AND THAILAND WOULD GO FORWARD. HABIB EMPHASIZED THIS NOT TIME FOR U.S. TO GIVE WRONG SIGNAL TO ADVERSARIES; WE WANT OUR FRIENDS TO UNDERSTAND WE

ARE DEPENDABLE. SECRETARY SPECIFICALLY ASKED HIM TO TELL PRESIDENT SUHARTO THAT STATEMENTS PREVIOUSLY MADE TO HIM REMAIN VALID.

11. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ADDED THAT U.S. WOULD SEEK SUSTAIN DEGREE OF CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN INDONESIA SO RESOURCES NECESSARY FOR INDONESIA CAN BE OBTAINED. KEY FACTOR IN CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE ON AID WILL BE WILLINGNESS OF OTHER COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES AND SUSTAIN SPIRIT AND LEADERSHIP IN COUNTRY.

12. REFERRING TO IGGI, HABIB SAID U.S. HAD MADE SPECIAL EFFORT FOR INDONESIA, REVERSING SENTIMENT OF SOME MONTHS EARLIER AGAINST FURTHER AID TO GOI. HE HOPED IN NEXT YEAR, U.S. COULD DO BETTER, BUT HE COULD MAKE NO PROMISES.

13. RE HANOI, HABIB SAID ANY COUNTRY MUST BE CAUTIOUS IN RELATIONS AND PREPARE FOR WORST WHILE ALLOWING FOR BEST. HANOI INTELLECTUALLY ORIENTED TO REVOLUTION AND INSURGENCY AND IS NOW BOULEYED BY SUCCESS. HE THEN ASKED
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PRESIDENT HOW HE SAW NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND ROLE OF MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS. HE ASKED WHETHER ROLE HE HAD DESCRIBED FOR U.S. FITTED Indonesian DESIRES.

14. SUHARTO REPLIED THAT HE AGREED, COUNTRIES SHOULD PREPARE FOR WORST. SEA COUNTRIES, HE SAID, HAVE REACHED CONSENSUS. HOW THINGS WILL DEVELOP DEPENDS ON RESILIENCE OF EACH COUNTRY. OTHER COUNTRIES IN AREA ARE WEAK; ONLY INDONESIA HAS STRENGTH THROUGH PANCASILA. INDONESIA ENCOURAGING OTHER ASEAN LEADERS TO DEVELOP OWN NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY. WITHOUT SUCH PHILOSOPHY, COMMUNISM CAN CREEP IN EASILY.

15. MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS, IN PRESIDENT'S VIEW, WILL USE ALL ELEMENTS AVAILABLE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. THIS WILL RESENT SPECIAL PROBLEM TO ASEAN COUNTRIES; IF THEY ALLOW USSR TO GROW IN INFLUENCE, THEY WILL BE DEEMED UNFRIENDLY BY CHINA - AND VICE VERSA. HE HOPES U.S. CAN PLAY ROLE IN PREVENTING SEA FROM BECOMING AREA OF CONFLICT BETWEEN COMMUNIST POWER.

16. IN INDONESIA, PRESIDENT SAID, EXTREME ELEMENTS, INCLUDING EXTREME "PANCASILAISTS" REMAIN AND WILL REPRESENT DANGER UNLESS GOVERNMENT CAN SUCCEED IN SUSTAINING NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND REMOVING POVERTY, SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND BACKWARDNESS.

17. AS MEETING CONCLUDED, HABIB RAISED AGAIN QUESTION

OF INDONESIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD U.S. DEPLOYMENTS IN ASIA..

PRESIDENT REPLIED HE WAS "ENCOURAGED" BYWHAT ASSISTANT
SECRETARY HAD SAID; IMPORTANT THING WAS FOR U.S. TO DO
MORE IN AREA.
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